and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebê lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the ekcá, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.
619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

[545] The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

3

Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi." "I miss my son -- Nheben opute cahi." The word nehbēn means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbē cabi cahi dhē."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattoing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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101 [6] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Xjambikwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[6] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *uvidyc'uye*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *uvidyc*, "we", and the plural suffix, *uye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ä* = German *ä* (palatal); *ö* = German *ö* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; *ä̃* = nasalized *ä*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *ch* = German *ach*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *ts* = always voiceless; *v* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *ʼ*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ä* and *ö* are acoustically related to German *ä* and *ö*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine *ö* and *ü*, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patrilineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a group they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

197 The Munduruc ú are clearly distinguishable by their
101 speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors
302 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding
101 outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare.
701 Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never
[578 between Munduruc ú villages. The idea of violence between two
●619] Munduruc ú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Munduruc ú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the
[622 chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Munduruc ú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Urubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

726 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages,
701 the Munduruc\u00fa were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages
600 between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways; by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each
614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Munduruc\u00fa villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Munduruc\u00fa of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubús and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 334).

619 [796] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 [161] At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyen is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóz River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

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The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *awah*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we shī*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *we shī* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avuncular marriage. Although contemporary Mundurucú informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework.[2] In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock states (ibid:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Mundurucú considered themselves to be related to all other Mundurucú by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Mundurucú emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

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602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awah*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurcú village was characterized by a deep
562 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres: there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucu culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucu. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucu pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucu household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate environment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and cooperation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist between the residents of each community, and all feel themselves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunting and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

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614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of
[619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

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6

social solidarity and social fission

619
[621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji* [101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation [183] and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá [648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

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602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart." [2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social